

11 May 1961

**MEMORANDUM FOR:** Mr. John S. Moghland  
Deputy Assistant Secretary  
Congressional Relations  
Department of State  
Washington 25, D. C.

**SUBJECT:** Congressional Queries Concerning Status  
of Americans with Anti-Castro Forces

1. In accordance with our telephone conversation, I would like to advise you of two specific queries received by the Agency and our disposition.

a. Gerard Zeiller in the office of Senator Styles Bridges called in connection with [redacted] Apparently [redacted] had advised his father that he was joining the anti-Castro forces and after the April invasion the family has received some indication he was alive but a prisoner. We checked this one and found no reference at all to his name and Zeiller was so advised. He did ask us to watch for the name and furnish any information which we received.

b. Arthur Kuhl on the staff of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee telephoned saying that Senator Fulbright had a query concerning [redacted] [redacted] with some indication that he had advised relatives that he was joining the anti-Castro forces. In this case, in checking the matter, while we found no real information, we did come across his name as possibly having been with some group. Kuhl was advised of this and he also requested that we furnish any information we might receive.

2. In both of the specific cases I will now advise that the appropriate place to seek information would be the Department of State. Further, in accordance with our conversation, any future calls from the Congress on matters of this type I will indicate that the Department would be the appropriate place to query.

3. I well realize this may throw some burden on you but I think we both agree that it is inevitable. We certainly appreciate your cooperation and the Agency, of course, will cooperate fully in searching for traces on those cases on which the Department requests information.

JOHN S. WARNER  
Legislative Counsel

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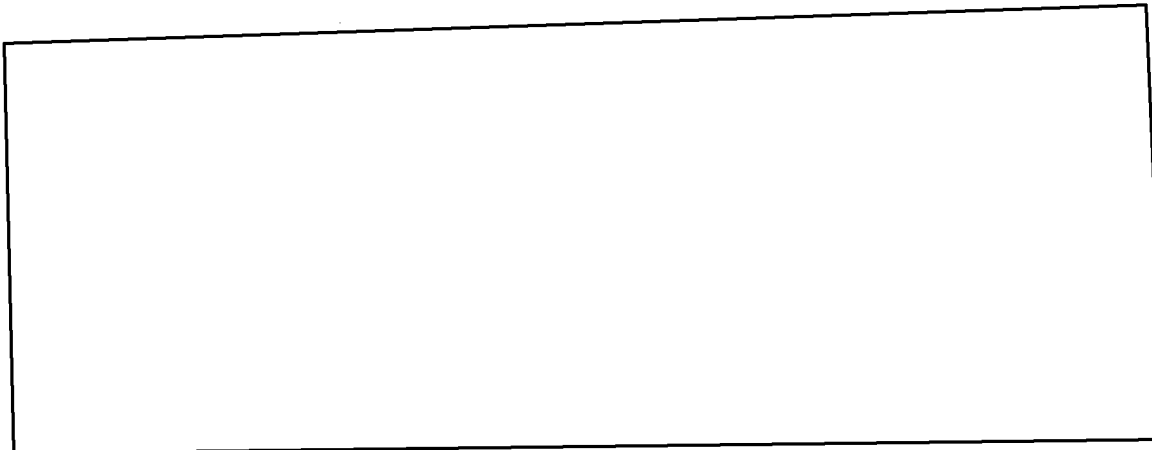
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*Custom  
Dinner*

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4. [redacted] [redacted] called to say that Mr. Carlson, of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee staff, had called him and asked if he could be available to talk with someone from the University of California Law School in June on the subject of law in Communist China. Carlson explained to [redacted] that he had discussed this matter with State Department and State had suggested that he contact CIA [redacted] by name. I talked with Carlson later about this and suggested that since the State Department should have about the same information which we might have on this, I saw no need for [redacted] participation. Mr. Carlson was agreeable to this.

5. [redacted] Boyd Crawford telephoned on behalf of Dr. Morgan, Chairman, House Foreign Affairs Committee. He inquired if the Director could appear before the Committee on 18 May at 10:30 a.m. to give the Committee a world situation briefing including, of course, Laos and Cuban problems. Upon checking this with the office of the DCI, the Director requested that I secure Brooks Hays' reaction. This was checked with Brooks Hays who had no strong feeling either way although he agreed probably we would have to do it. This information was forwarded to the office of the DCI.

6. [redacted] Jack Highland, State Department, telephoned to advise that he agreed with the Agency suggestion that queries from the Congress concerning Americans who allegedly were fighting in the anti-Castro forces could be referred by CIA to the Department of State although we both recognized the Department through liaison would probably be checking with CIA in all cases. I promised to send Highland a memorandum of the two calls we had received.

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For we are determined to do everything in our power to help lick the housing shortage in this State.

I was pleased to sign a bill the other day granting automatic property tax exemptions for limited-profit housing built for the aged. And as you know, we've just extended rent control for another 2 years—and tightened some loopholes. We've got to have rent control until we do have an adequate supply of decent housing that will keep rentals within the reach of the people everywhere in a free market. But rent control is only a transitional protection; the real solution is a scale of building that fully meets our needs.

It is a very big job. Rochdale Village is a real contribution. But we still have a long way to go, and the utmost cooperation of all concerned—of labor, business, and government—is essential. Working together, we can—and must—do the job.

REMARKS OF ROBERT MOSES AT THE GROUND-BREAKING FOR ROCHDALE VILLAGE, JAMAICA, QUEENS, SATURDAY MORNING, APRIL 29, 1961

This cooperative, middle income, nonprofit project, on the largest remaining centrally located, accessible vacant land in the city, represents my swan song as a houser.

All I can say, beyond expressing profound gratitude for release from some years of title 1 responsibilities, dating back to Bob Taft, is that the United Housing Foundation and its member organizations including the progressive labor unions are the best and in fact the only really well-equipped builders in this difficult, bedeviled, middle-income field. I hope they will be given the powers and aids required for a full-scale attack on the problem, both in areas requiring slum clearance and in the few where middle income apartments can still be built on vacant or relatively vacant land—for instance, on Staten Island, which the Verrazano-Narrows Bridge will bring close to work areas, the meadows north of Jamaica Bay and the East Bronx.

There will have to be much more sincere, reliable and courageous support if we hope to remove this reproach to our boast of leadership among cities. There will have to be less demagoguery, irresponsible criticism and wisecracking, wild-eyed planning, fanaticism, screaming headlines, lurid exposures which prove to be gross exaggerations, and plain ordinary personal malice. I believe my union friends can take it. They are inured to criticism. They have a rooted and sincere regard for their fellow men in the lower income brackets. They are genuinely concerned not only for their members but for the future of the whole city. They are clothed in justifiable armor of righteousness.

As a practical matter, more money will have to be spent on moving people and small business out of the slums if we are to have slum clearance—I mean in the form of cash payments and other aid. The price of decent, humane treatment of tenants is very small in the huge total scale of cost of such projects and should be included in the initial estimates like any other requirements and not left to subsequent debate and chance.

It is nearly impossible for outsiders to appreciate the many astonishing accomplishments of this, our city, in the midst of seemingly endless committee investigations, muckraking and hysterical detraction. The flowers of praise are lost in an atmosphere of Irish confetti and dead cats.

Stick around, my fine friends, tomorrow you may have good notices, but next week the critics will deplore your ground layout, criticize your architecture, question your downpayments and begrudge you partial tax abatement and cheap money. You have, however, cheerfully lived through these things before and you will survive them again. Meanwhile, you have the applause

of your conscience and may look forward hopefully to the verdict of posterity.

Some 20,000 people who live here at Rochdale will be siphoned out of bad neighborhoods. They will no doubt make room in the rookeries they are abandoning for others perhaps presently even worse housed. Most of the places they leave would, under competent and courageous planning, be torn down entirely to make way for other new low- or middle-income apartments. Unfortunately we simply don't as yet have the guts, the ability and the support to rebuild New York. It will take a long time. A start has been made, and this must be manifest here at Rochdale even to the most jaundiced and skeptical.

My congratulations to Governor Rockefeller, Mayor Wagner, Borough President John T. Clancy, and to other members of the board of estimate; to James J. Felt, chairman of the city planning commission; to Col. Arthur Levitt, the State comptroller; to Col. James W. Gaynor, the State housing commissioner; and particularly to the unions and, since there is always one dedicated individual who overshadows such achievements to Abraham Kazan, the undisputed champion of cooperative housing. Give him the tools and he will finish the job.

## Polish Constitution Day

## SPEECH

OF

## HON. ROBERT F. ELLSWORTH

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 3, 1961

Mr. ELLSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, toward the end of the 18th century Poland's greatness and glory had become past history, and she was fast becoming victim to the evil designs of her aggressive neighbors. By the early 1890's Austria, Prussia, and Russia had already robbed the Poles of a good part of historic Polish territory, and Poland's independent existence was under threats. In the midst of such anxiety, a band of patriotic and courageous Polish leaders tried to strengthen and overhaul Poland's Government. Their concerted action resulted in the Polish Constitution of May 3 in 1791.

This historic and memorable document at once became, and remains to this day, a real landmark in Poland's modern history. Through it Polish leaders meant to lead Poland from Middle Ages to modern times. This liberal, progressive, and democratic Constitution sharply curtailed the unlimited powers of the king, making Poland's Government one of limited, constitutional monarchy. A responsible form of cabinet government was provided for, and the legislative assembly became the supreme governmental authority of the country. The basis of the electorate was broadened and religious freedom was guaranteed. The nobility lost much of its privileges, and the peasantry were brought under the protection of the law. In short, this was a model Constitution, and as such was a great pioneering effort on the part of gifted Polish leaders.

Unfortunately for the Poles, before the Constitution was put into effective force, Poland's foes treacherously at-

tacked her, partitioned her and put an end to her independence. But the liberal and democratic spirit of the Constitution of May 3 still lives in Poland, and on the 170th anniversary of its proclamation all patriotic Poles and all lovers of freedom observe that historic anniversary, the Polish Constitution Day.

## Senator Mansfield on the World Stage

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 8, 1961

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Senator Mansfield on the World Stage," which appeared in the April 4 issue of the Lewistown (Mont.) Daily News, and an article entitled "MANSFIELD Splits Work of Democratic Leader," which appeared in the March 27 issue of the Los Angeles Times.

There being no objection, the editorial and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

## SENATOR MANSFIELD ON THE WORLD STAGE

Senator LYNDON JOHNSON made his mark as one of the greatest majority leaders in the history of the U.S. Senate.

Filling the shoes of such a man is a difficult assignment.

This is especially true in view of the fact that Mr. JOHNSON is now Vice President of the United States and presiding officer of the Senate.

But Montana's own Senator MIKE MANSFIELD is certainly doing the job in a brilliant, quiet, and effective manner all his own.

In the first place, Senator MANSFIELD did not seek this post of heavy responsibility and in fact made it known that he did not want it. In short, the job sought him. This gave him a tremendous psychological advantage in dealing with the Senate. He was elected to lead the Senate because he enjoys the confidence and respect of southern, northern, and western Senators. This certainly speaks well for Senator MANSFIELD because it means that he is not a doctrinaire extremist. He practices the art of the possible. He strives to make democracy work despite the conflicts of various sections and interests.

Because Senator JOHNSON as leader had been so flamboyant as well as able in contrast to the quiet, studious Senator from Montana, the smart alecs and commentators early assumed that JOHNSON still pulled the strings. They cited as proof such insignificant observations that Senator JOHNSON retained his old office. But more and more the analysts as well as the Senate itself have realized that Senator MANSFIELD is the majority leader in his own right. More and more everyone is beginning to realize that Senator MANSFIELD is on the way to becoming one of the really great Senate majority leaders.

Today, as the American Government deals with the crisis in Laos or the Congo or in Berlin, Senator MANSFIELD is playing a decisive role in history of the world. He is a national and international figure because he is one of the two or three most important men in the U.S. Government. On the domestic front, it goes without saying that he

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constituted election but in a contrived mass meeting," the Department said.

## A SHRUG MIGHT BE DEATH

"The average Cuban is in trouble if he so much as shrugs his shoulders. He is in real trouble—he can be put in jail or put to death—if he says 'no'."

The State Department asserted that Castro's election-substitute, mass meetings, "sound very much like Hitler and Mussolini's mass gatherings."

The Department quoted Jose Marti, Cuba's 19th century "George Washington," as warning that the socialist idea is dangerous in two ways.

Marti, a Cuban national hero, said socialism introduces a "confused foreign doctrine" and permits ambitious men to rise in the world, "to stand above the crowd by faking arrogance and fury and by pretending to be impassioned defenders of the underprivileged."

My concern is not in criticizing the findings which appeared to be accurate, but the fact that this report is many days, if not weeks or months late in being released. Indeed the American people, I feel sure, had reached these conclusions long ago, and now the State Department assessment so belated is almost comical in its pronouncements. It would be comical if it were not so tragic, our conduct as Cuba went communistic. The tragedy is in two parts. First, that American lives and property were taken and the United States did nothing to protect them. Such protection is clearly within our rights, and the failure to act becomes patently an admission of weakness, vacillation, and indecision in the eyes of our neighbors in the world. No one, then, would have contested our right to invade Cuba, as we have done some 30 times in Latin America to protect our citizens against the threat of loss of life or property. The tragedy was our failure to act immediately when we clearly had the right.

Second, the tragedy is compounded and made the grounds for additional loss of life and property by our second failure to act to prevent a greater Communist buildup in Cuba. Why, oh why, does our Government let the precious hours and days slip away while Castro beefs up Cuba's military might for the showdown which most assuredly will come and most assuredly must and will be lead by the United States.

I, for one, am appalled at our failure to act, and over the condoning of our mistakes and/or our inability to learn from our mistakes which results from our alleged bipartisan harmony to show the world a unity of purpose. My undying belief is that the United States should protect by force of arms when necessary the live of her citizens and their property when jeopardized unfairly and illegally by any other nation. I shall never agree to a weak and supine policy underlying our foreign aid and our foreign relations as they exist today. It is late, but I suggest and I pray that it is not too late for tough action, not just tough talk. We must tell the world our terms in maintaining freedom and justice and peace. Terms which preclude Communist subversion and our pronounce-

ments firm and clear should be overtly backed up by military power and our willingness to use our armed strength. Only as we get tough can we prevent world war III. A weaker policy will surely bring on the holocaust.

While I am just one voice, I am sure a majority of the American people would rather risk their lives now than to invite Communist enslavement by appeasement. The showdown is approaching. Every American citizen and every nation must now go through an agonizing reappraisal, freedom or slavery, if communism's total conquest of the world is to be stopped in its tracks and driven back.

## Rochdale Village Groundbreaking

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 8, 1961

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, on April 29, 1961, ground was broken in New York City for one of the most important nonprofit community efforts in our Nation—the Rochdale Village housing development sponsored by the United Housing Foundation, which will be the largest housing cooperative in the United States. This development, which will offer accommodations at reasonable cost for 5,860 families in the middle income area, was made possible by the combined efforts of labor unions, housing cooperatives, civic groups, and other nonprofit organizations joined together in the United Housing Foundation, and through financing provided with the help of New York State's Mitchell-Lama Limited Profit Housing program and funds from the State's Teachers and Employees Retirement Systems. This project, whose carrying charges will be approximately \$21 per room per month after a \$400 per room down payment, represents the culmination of efforts by many dedicated officials, both public and private, including Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, State Housing Commissioner James William Gaynor, Robert Moses, whose idea it was to use the Jamaica Race Track site for middle income housing, and Abraham Kazan, president of the United Housing Foundation.

My bill to establish a Federal Limited Profit Mortgage Corporation, S. 766, follows the pattern of the State Mitchell-Lama program, and this new project illustrates again the kind of job that can be done for middle-income families under such a program.

I ask unanimous consent that there may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the speeches made on this occasion by Governor Rockefeller and by Robert Moses.

There being no objection, the addresses were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXCERPTS OF REMARKS BY GOVERNOR ROCKEFELLER PREPARED FOR DELIVERY AT GROUND-BREAKING CEREMONIES, ROCSDALE VILLAGE, SPONSORED BY UNITED HOUSING FOUNDATION, NEW YORK AND BAILEY BOULEVARDS, QUEENS, NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 29, 1961.

My congratulations, first of all, to the labor unions, housing cooperatives, civic groups, and other nonprofit organizations, joined together in the United Housing Foundation, which have supplied the initiative that makes possible this project—the largest housing cooperative in the Nation.

By offering excellent accommodations at reasonable cost for 5,860 families, Rochdale Village is an important step toward meeting one of the most serious problems in the city of New York—the shortage of middle-income housing.

I am naturally proud of the State's role in the financing and supervising of this project, the largest of the 41 projects—providing 17,357 apartments—now either completed, in construction, or in the works under the middle-income housing program. Commissioner Jim Gaynor is so ably advancing. This project of course, began with an idea, and as is so often the case when something big happens in New York, the idea can be traced back to Bob Moses. When the decision was made to close the Jamaica Race Track, it was Commissioner Moses who suggested that this area be used for a large middle-income housing project.

The United Housing Foundation, with several other developments to its credit and with outstanding management headed by President Abraham Kazan, undertook the job. A unique feature of the financing of Rochdale Village is the fact that the New York State Teachers Retirement System and the New York State Employees Retirement System have invested \$57 million in this project which, with \$19 million of State money, makes up the \$76 million mortgage fund.

For the 20,000 people who will live in this small city within a big city, perhaps the most important factor will be the imagination, the consideration for human values and human needs, that have gone into the planning of Rochdale Village. Vehicular traffic has been completely eliminated from the interior of the village—and parking spaces provided for 4,000 automobiles. Over 33 of the 170 acres in the project area have been donated for a park, schools, an athletic field, a public library, and a police station. The number of three-bedroom apartments was revised upward from original estimates to meet the demand of larger families. Special provision has been made for accommodation of elderly couples and the disabled.

With a membership cost of \$400 per room and an average monthly carrying charge of \$21 per room, Rochdale Village—named in honor of the pioneers of the consumer cooperative movement in Rochdale, England—is indeed a significant advance in the middle-income housing program.

But I am also pleased that an increasing number of rental projects are coming in under the middle-income program. This is especially important to young couples just starting out, and to the elderly.

And most significant of all is the acceleration of the entire program—the steadily increasing number of new projects and the fact that a program initiated by my administration has increased financing available for middle-income housing by 350 percent.

I am happy to announce that the new State housing finance agency has just approved a draft prospectus for its first sale of bonds under its \$525 million authorization—and that sale of the first \$50 million of these bonds should be underway in a few weeks.

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Memphis, Ark., who has served as the General Counsel for the inquiry. He has worked long and hard at the task assigned the subcommittee by the Congress.

As a means of better acquainting Members with the scope of this study, at this point it is proper to place in the Record a copy of the memorandum submitted to the committee last March 14 by the General Counsel, John Mac Smith.

Much information—not only statistical—but in the nature of human problems as presented by the farmers and their families has been submitted to the committee. More information of great significance is expected at the additional hearings. From this great compilation of information and comment by farmers and agricultural interests, it will be the task of the subcommittee to bring forth to the House Committee on Agriculture, and through that committee to the Congress, those recommendations and proposals that will seek to counter this erosive impact of the cost-price squeeze on our farming families and the farming communities of the Nation:

MARCH 14, 1961.

Memorandum to: Hon. HAROLD D. COOLEY, chairman, Committee on Agriculture, U.S. House of Representatives; Hon. E. C. GATHINGS, chairman, Subcommittee on Equipment, Supplies, and Manpower, Committee on Agriculture, U.S. House of Representatives; Hon. CHARLES B. HOEVEN, Committee on Agriculture, U.S. House of Representatives.

From: John Mac Smith, general counsel, Subcommittee on Equipment, Supplies, and Manpower, Committee on Agriculture, U.S. House of Representatives.

Subject: Investigation and survey relative to farm cost prices as compared to prices received for farm products.

Pursuant to your direction, I have made a preliminary study in regard to the survey and investigation relative to the above subject to be made by the Subcommittee on Equipment, Supplies, and Manpower, Committee on Agriculture, U.S. House of Representatives, and I am pleased to submit the results of that study to you.

#### I. AUTHORITY

A. The basic authority for the survey and investigation on the part of the subcommittee is House Resolution 86, 87th Congress, 1st session, which was agreed to February 9, 1961.

B. In addition, Hon. HAROLD D. COOLEY, the chairman of the Committee on Agriculture, U.S. House of Representatives, has directed that the Subcommittee on Equipment, Supplies, and Manpower, proceed immediately with the survey and investigation in order that a prompt but accurate report as to the conditions relative to the subject be submitted at the earliest practicable date so that appropriate action may be taken.

#### II. NEED FOR THE SURVEY AND INVESTIGATION

A. The consumer has a distorted understanding of farm income and farm conditions, which redounds to the detriment of the farmer.

1. By reason of information which has been furnished over recent years to the news media the farmer has been pictured day after day as constantly at the public trough, and the primary cause of the rise in the price of consumer goods.

Chairman COOLEY stated the condition accurately and succinctly in his remarks in the House of Representatives, 86th Congress, 2d session, on September 1, 1960, when he said that there had been over the years "a

design and calculation to inflame consumers against farmers."

2. This misunderstanding as to the farm problem must be corrected, and the consumer must be apprised as to the true farm condition. Actually, the farmer isn't getting anything like his equitable share of the price which the consumer is paying, for example: the consumer pays approximately \$3.94 for a broadcloth shirt, and of this amount the farmer receives 28 cents; thus, if the farmer gave the cotton for the shirt the consumer would still have to pay \$3.66 for the shirt. (S.P. 119, Agricultural Extension Service, the University of Tennessee, August 1960.) This is only one example of the disparity in prices received by the farmer and prices paid by the consumer, and similar figures, can be furnished as to every article processed from a farm product, which the consumer purchases. Despite this fact, the consumer constantly reads, hears, and sees the farmer as the ward of a beneficent Government. It is believed the survey and investigation can do much to correct the false pictures of the farmer in the event the survey and investigation is thorough.

B. The true picture of the farm problem must be presented to Congress and the general public.

1. The real need, however, for the survey and investigation is to point out to Congress and to the general public the sorry plight of the farmer who is being crushed out of existence by the squeeze between rising cost prices and falling prices for the products which he produces. I quote from a few of the letters and telegrams which Representative GATHINGS has received since the publication of news items in regard to the investigation of farm machinery costs.

"Unless we have help like you are going to give us, in 3 more years the farmers will begin to fall by the wayside like a bunch of flies in a DDT bomb."

"This section of the United States is very dependent on farming and this action is long overdue. As you well know, the cost price squeeze has been working us over. If some of it can be alleviated through this investigation, then you have certainly performed a great service for this section as well as the country as a whole."

"This investigation is long overdue, and I hope and pray your committee will not only get the true facts, but better still will find some solution to a very serious problem affecting (farm machinery) dealers and the farmers they serve."

"I think the investigation of farm machinery, spare parts, and maintenance is justified and you are to be commended for pushing it."

"The cotton farmers of the State and Nation \* \* \* most interested in your attempt to lower cost of machinery. Not many years ago 10 bales of cotton would buy one heavy-duty farm tractor, and it now takes 40 bales of cotton."

"I know 15,000 to 20,000 people directly and indirectly who make their living farming and these farmers are trying to hold up a great burden by paying \$10,000 for a combine and \$20,000 for a cottonpicker. What is very alarming to me is that some of our best farmers are giving up and hoping that they can get someone else to rent their land. If prices keep going up as they have been, the whole situation is in danger of collapse and will fall in on top of labor and the manufacturers."

2. The economic position of the American farmer is tragic when it is noted that his net income has dropped from \$17.3 billion in 1947 to \$11.6 billion in 1960, which is an income reduction of more than 30 percent. It cannot be argued that the 1960 recession was in anywise responsible for this miserable condition for the farmer received even less in 1959, that figure being \$11.3 billion

(Economic Report of the President, January 1961).

What was happening to the cost prices of the farmer while the price he was receiving for his products was plummeting to new lows? Between the years 1946 and 1960 the farmer's cost for farm machinery more than doubled; his cost for motor vehicles increased 87 percent; the cost of fertilizer increased 25 percent; and his interest, taxes and wage rates increased 45 percent ("Agricultural Prices," U.S. Department of Agriculture, Oct. 15, 1960).

3. Unless the farm income is increased or the farm costs are reduced, the future of a large segment of our society is confronted with immediate tragedy.

#### III. WHAT CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED BY THE SURVEY AND INVESTIGATION

A. A forum will be offered to the farmer and the manufacturer.

1. The farmer will be given an opportunity to tell his own story. This is a story of pathos, a story when told by the farmer rather than by someone for him, will appeal to the spirit of fairness and equity which have always been characteristic of the American people. When a true word picture is painted by the farmer himself it is entirely possible that prejudice on the part of the consumer will, to say the least, be dissipated.

2. The manufacturer likewise has a story to tell, for he has been beset by increasing costs. However, he has had the means by the use of public relation experts and paid advertisement to tell his story to the public. Regardless of this, he should be made welcome to tell his story before the subcommittee with the same degree of welcome as will be extended to the farmer.

It is possible, although not probable, that the manufacturer may come to the conclusion he is pricing himself out of the farm market, and should make some concessions as to price relative to the articles he is selling to the public. This hope is based upon the fact that the two largest farm machinery manufacturers showed a substantial decrease as to earnings in 1960 by comparison to the 1959 earnings, as follows:

	Per share
International Harvester:	
9 months, July 1959.....	\$4.12
9 months, July 1960.....	2.51
Estimated earnings in 1960.....	3.25
Deere & Co.:	
9 months, July 1959.....	5.99
9 months, July 1960.....	1.33
Estimated earnings in 1960.....	2.45

3. Congress will be furnished an accurate and complete report upon the plight of the American farmer in order that its membership may take such action as may be deemed appropriate to remedy this situation.

#### IV. RECOMMENDATIONS

A. The cooperation on the part of the executive branch of the Government should be requested. A copy of this memorandum may be made available to the Secretary of Agriculture in order that he will be advised as to the intended survey and investigation.

B. Preliminary hearings should be held in the farm areas.

1. It is suggested that a hearing be arranged in the cotton section, preferably Memphis, Tenn., and also a hearing be arranged in the grain section, preferably Sioux City, Iowa.

2. These local hearings should attract numerous farmers who are unable to come to Washington for hearings. The local witnesses who have an important statement upon the subject of the investigation could then be invited to the hearings in Washington.

C. Manufacturers and processors should be contacted.

1. Manufacturers and processors of farm machinery and other products used by the

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farmer should be contacted and their story obtained. It is believed these companies will send representatives to Washington, if representatives are not here on a permanent basis, for informal discussion, thus eliminating the expense of trips for this purpose. Representatives of these firms should be invited to the Washington hearings.

D. Government and other lending agencies should be contacted.

1. It is believed that a substantial portion of the credit extended to farmers is extended by Government lending agencies. As indicated the rise in interest is an important cost factor to the farmer, and these agencies will, no doubt, be willing to cooperate.

2. Insurance companies and other companies making mortgage loans to farmers should be contacted in order that interest costs to the farmer may be explored.

E. Farmers' organizations should be contacted.

1. The Farm Bureau, Farmers Union, National Grange and other farm organizations should be fully advised and their assistance requested.

## V. CONCLUSION

This memorandum, as above stated, is preliminary as to nature, and as the survey investigation proceeds additional memorandums will be furnished.

## The Prisoner in the Legation

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 8, 1961

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, following is the second in a series of articles on present-day Hungary which is appearing in the New York Herald Tribune. This one appeared in the issue of May 2, 1961. On May 1, 1961, I inserted the first of the series.

Gaston Coblenz reports from Budapest on the present situation:

HUNGARY OF TODAY—CARDINAL MINDSZENTY, THE FORGOTTEN MARTYR

(NOTE.—Gaston Coblenz of the Herald Tribune's foreign staff has gone behind the Iron Curtain for a fresh look at the situation in the satellite nations. He started in Hungary, and this is the third of 5 articles on conditions there 5 years after the bloody suppression of the anti-Red uprising. His reports will continue from other lands under the Communist yoke.)

(By Gaston Coblenz)

BUDAPEST.—The U.S. Legation in Budapest is a shabby building on Liberty Square. Its largest office is used as living quarters for Josef Cardinal Mindszenty, Roman Catholic Primate of Hungary, who received asylum in the Legation at the outbreak of the anti-Communist uprising in 1956 and has never left the place since.

The windows of his corner room, normally the office of the U.S. Chief of Mission, overlook the square. Three Hungarian secret police cars, occupied by unsmiling agents, are stationed continuously in the street in front of the building. The cardinal does not come to the windows.

## NAME SELDOM MENTIONED

As the years go by, there is less and less talk about him in Budapest. His flight to the American Legation in preference to re-

capture by the Hungarian Communists may have somewhat diminished his stature as a martyr. When one talks with Hungarian anti-Communists, his name is not necessarily mentioned in reviewing the country's present situation.

The Hungarian Government seems almost satisfied with his continued presence in the Legation. However, a Foreign Ministry official said this week that it "probably" would be possible to reach a compromise on the cardinal's fate if the Vatican were to make an approach on the matter. The compromise presumably would have to consist of Cardinal Mindszenty leaving Hungary.

## WANTS TO STAY

He does not want to do so. This much is known, although the American Legation categorically refuses permission for newspapermen to talk with him. The evident reason for this is to deprive the Hungarian Government of any pretext for charging that he is engaging in political activity while under the Legation's protection.

There is little doubt that this is a development that has disappointed the Cardinal, who had hoped to be able to play a greater role while in asylum. Literally the only contact he has with the church in Hungary is the bimonthly visit of a priest, to administer the Sacrament of Penance. These visits are known to the Hungarian Government, and the priests who make them are assumed to be under Communist surveillance.

There has been a further personal hardship for Cardinal Mindszenty: the impossibility last year for him to attend the funeral of his 92-year-old mother in a Hungarian village.

At 69, he has thus virtually been immobilized since his arrest by the Stalinist regime of Matyas Rakosi in 1948. Sentenced to life imprisonment after his forced "confessions" during a grim trial in 1949, he was briefly liberated by the rebels in the 1956 uprising. His long refuge at the American Legation began after only a week of freedom at the height of the revolt.

The only time he goes outdoors is for a daily walk in the bleak cement courtyard behind the Legation with an American official at his side. His meals are prepared in the Legation's cafeteria, and the mission's eight officers more or less take turns in paying him visits.

## NO U.S. ENVOY

The legation has been without a chief of mission since the rebellion. However, the Communists seem to believe that the United States at last again may be considering the appointment of an accredited envoy.

It probably would have to be preceded by some easing of the harassments to which the legation is being subjected by the Kadar government, which in some respects have changed little from the practices of the pre-rebellion Stalinist regime of Matyas Rakosi.

Some of the Western missions fare better than others. The British have a fairly well-attended reading room and small film theater, although they have been forbidden, for example, to put up display posters outside their building on the ground that it would spoil the building's architectural line.

Moreover, the fear of Communist listening devices is so intense in several missions that a number of diplomats are extremely cautious in conversation in their own offices, their homes, and even in their automobiles.

## REDS SELECT EMPLOYEES

Also, the Hungarian Government is forcing Western missions to employ personnel of the Government's own choosing. The result is that old and trusted employees of the legations are coerced into resigning their posts and because of their long employment by Western diplomats are unable to find work elsewhere.

Officers of the U.S. mission are still forbidden to travel more than 40 kilometers out of Budapest without special permits. Sometimes individual members of the mission wait a year before receiving permission to make a requested trip.

Visiting American newspaper men, once admitted to the country, receive more favorable treatment in being able to travel to virtually any part of Hungary without permission or prior notification to the Government.

## White Paper on Cuba

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 8, 1961

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, the State Department White Paper was summarized in a recent newspaper article which is here included as a condensation:

UNITED STATES PUTS CUBA IN RED BLOC

(By Robert Young)

WASHINGTON, May 2.—The United States today designated Cuba a member of the Communist bloc and declared that the government of Premier Fidel Castro has taken on aspects of the Hitler and Mussolini dictatorships.

The State Department said it appears that Castro considers Cuba "further along the Communist road" than some of the other countries in the bloc dominated by Russia and Red China.

The Department issued a long statement in response to Castro's May Day actions proclaiming Cuba a Socialist state, abolishing elections and clamping new restrictions on the Roman Catholic Church.

## ON WAY A LONG TIME

The Department said Castro's planting Cuba solidly in the sphere of international communism should come as no surprise because Castro has been heading into the open embrace of the Sino-Soviet bloc for some time.

The statement, made public by Lincoln White, State Department press officer, advised the American people not to be confused by Castro's use of the word Socialist rather than Communist in describing Cuba's form of government.

The Department noted that only Russia and Czechoslovakia call themselves Socialist republics in this stage of their projected development toward communism, whereas the other satellite countries in the Communist bloc, including Red China, describe themselves as people's republics.

## TRAGIC FOR CUBAN CITIZEN

"It would therefore appear," the statement said, "that Castro considers Cuba farther along the Communist road than some of the other countries in the bloc."

In reference to Castro's declaration that Cuba was abandoning the free elections he had promised in favor of people's mass meetings, the State Department commented that the Cuban citizen under the Castro regime is in really a tragic situation. Even Russia has so-called elections, although there is no real choice among candidates, the statement continued, so again Castro seems to have gone the other members of the Communist bloc one better.

"The Cuban has but one choice; namely, to say 'Si,' and even that not in a duly-